



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

(p. 184) and transferred. The customary food-rent or tribute might easily become *feorm*, the *dawnbryd* might become *gafol*; each was a territorial, not a personal payment. Add to these conclusions others taken from *The English Village Community*, and the list becomes more complete. Co-ration with eight oxen was tribal (*V. C.*, pp. 279 n., 388); a day's work with a pair of oxen was a tribal unit of land measurement (p. 315); the division of the furlong into as many strips as there were sharers was a widespread tribal custom (p. 383); the allotment of thirty acres to a pair of oxen, and the scattering of the acre strips, as in the Saxon "yardland," was known from India to Ireland (pp. 392, 393).

When we put together these various tribal elements and practices, we begin to see—as yet vaguely, it is true—some of the conditions out of which the English manor grew. Further investigation will bring new data and new interpretations, until, by a process of elimination, the measure of the Roman influence may be determined. But the point to be insisted upon is, that the manorial organization in England derived its essential elements from the tribal, and not from the Roman, system. This I have always maintained. On this matter Mr. Seebohm has one or two important remarks. "The real question," he says, "is whether these so-called feudal tendencies were the result of outside feudal influence upon the tribal system, or whether what we call the feudal system in Western Europe may not itself turn out to have been, in part, the result of tendencies ingrained in the very nature of tribal society, and thus underly the conditions out of which feudalism grew" (p. 135); and again: "These Celtic and tribal touches in what otherwise might be regarded as feudal definitions of serfdom seem to suggest connecting links between tribal and feudal custom" (p. 130). This hits two ways. It calls in question Professor Vinogradoff's objection to "any theory attempting to trace a direct course from the tribe to the manor," and weakens the force of his denial that "pre-eminence of chieftainship implies any growth of manorial power" (*English Historical Review*, July, 1893, pp. 541, 542). It also renders useless the attempt to make the manorial seigneur a gift from the Roman Empire, or to prove that the English manorial system was borrowed from the continent. The free village community is not at present a very substantial entity; neither is there much force in any argument that would give to Roman ideas and methods a greater importance than that of hardening and quickening already existing manorial tendencies.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Social England: A Record of the Progress of the People.* By various writers. Edited by H. D. TRAILL, sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Vols. I.—III. (London: Cassell and Co. 1893–1895. Pp. lvi, 504, 587, 550.)

THIS important book has been sufficiently criticised in its defects else-

where.<sup>1</sup> It is well to bring out the seamy parts of any performance, and to warn both readers and scholars against the deficiencies of any historical work, even of that which is good. Yet that criticism is most wholesome, which best brings out the larger features of any constructive work.

Three large octavo volumes have appeared; the fourth, as projected, carries the history only to the beginning of the eighteenth century. In extent and bulk, it is massive; in its positive demands for investigation, deeply varied, and for thorough special knowledge, it is a tremendous work. Many minds and numerous hands must be involved. Several thousand pages of solid and diversified information must inevitably be unequal in parts, and not altogether satisfactory in the completed whole. The co-operative method must always include grave defects; these will be relatively greater now, while it is comparatively new and only half developed. Such as it is, the progress of history has made it imperative. Mountains of facts accumulate on every side; and, worse, the revelations of science throw new light into the perspective of every period. The old picturesque story must be renovated — even if it be half ruined; it must be enlightened in every detail, before our restless, modern intelligence will rest content in its historical possessions. The limitations of commercial publication, the defects of specialists, the hampering conditions of editorial function, — all this environment must affect any great work of detailed knowledge, out of which the future Ranke or Thucydides will forge and anneal the greater history. It is said that a householder must build himself three houses before he can get a comfortable dwelling. Editors have not that comfortable privilege. We apprehend that Mr. Traill, and his readers as well, will be content with one trial.

Let the editor speak for himself, in his own introduction.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Traill proposes certain divisions of his subject, run out in rather broad lines. While this method distributes and districts the matter as mere territory, it cannot avoid much repetition and inevitable digression, both in statement of facts, and in the deductive essays into which the writers are often betrayed. The teams do not always respond to their charioteers, nor follow implicitly the lines of travel laid out by the projector.

First, of civil organization, which the writers base on the villages settled by the Iberians, and on the rude polity of the tribesmen brought in by the Celts. This structure was overlaid by the Roman power and the civilizing, imperial influence, but was not essentially changed. In this position, the editor and his writers are violently disputed by the critics of the *English Historical Review*. Concerning this detail we shall speak further on.

Next, of religion, planted in the form of Christianity in Great Britain by the Celtic church. On this foundation, the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, built up the see of Canterbury. Catholic England is held to have been not distinctive in character. After the great schism occurred, the

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, IX. 721; X. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *Social England*, I. xii-liii.

Puritan influence—as well *inside as outside* the Anglican church—moulded modern England. There is too much heat in this treatment of the relations of the Church and the non-conforming elements, whose parts dispute the ascendancy of the whole. While no historical insight can underrate the great Puritan ground-swell that sways the British nation in a marvellous way, yet we must remember that the major power—the greater mass swaying hither and thither—is not Puritan nor essentially ritualistic, it is English.

Learning and Science must be confounded with the Church, more or less, in the early times, though the universities struck off from the Church proper. Literature is more easily mapped and defined than any other portion of the history. This ground has been more thoroughly explored than any other topic involved.

Art is naturally the leanest topic in this story of the greatest of the northern races. In all the old centuries, architecture is the whole matter. In this magnificent development, it was the ecclesiastical impulse, rather than a sense of beauty, which reared the cathedral structures. The islanders took over the Continental movement, and gave it noble expression, on their own soil. Later on, the manor house and cottage made homes worthy of the genius of the people. Not until Hogarth was there a native artist.

The chapters on trade and industry bring us to the heart of the book. Here there is no conventional division, and no artificial treatment. Commerce, which the Phoenicians began in historic time, the narrow islanders took up and carried forward to the dominion of the seas, to a commercial dominion, greater than the political empire of Britain, greater than the peace of the Romans. It is not trading merely, not breasting the seas merely, not fighting merely, that has built up British ascendancy. It is the interchange, the facility born of struggle with Nature and Man combined, which has brought Britain out of obscurity, and has given her children, all together, the choice positions of the world. In this respect, the career of one offshooting branch of the English stock is even more remarkable than the work of the mother land. The Americans of the United States won the privilege of a continent from Britain, from France and Spain. Then they won the development and enjoyment of that favored land from Nature herself.

To comprehend history, this dominating characteristic of the English races must be traced far back in the making of England. This controlling feature of race-evolution is strongly marked on its home-loving, peace-regarding side, as it is remarkable on the aggressive conquering side, which has attracted most attention. The Saxon sea-rovers, who settled on the eastern shores in the fifth century, had all the fierce strength of the Scandinavian pirates. Yet soon—as history marks time—they became quiet colonists, and created true commerce in the ports which they built up. They traded far and wide, not only in brass, copper, tin, and gold, but in silks and gems. These mercers fell an easy prey to their

cousins, the Danish rovers, who came in later. Together the Saxons and Danes absorbed such Celtic elements as were capable of assimilation. This England was inoculated again with Scandinavian blood when William brought in the greater Northmen and settled them after the Conquest. In all these migrations and transmigrations, there is a profound current of civilization, stronger than the eddies of war or peace floating through it, that bore these varying races forward, and combined them in one stream of national life. This people, after tremendous internecine struggles, was prepared to fight abroad or to work at home.

Manners is an editorial topic which must be formal rather than substantial in its outlines and treatment. The personal vanity, expressing itself in the splendid dress of a feudal lord; the swarm of attendants around him, while his feet rested in rushes, where dogs crunched the remaining bones of the mediæval repast; these details of the uncomfortable living of peer, peasant, or artisan are rather parts of the whole life of the time, than an essential topic in itself.

Mr. Traill's introduction is an interesting essay, broad-minded and not necessarily historical. It is a manifestation of the purposes of the work, rather than a technical prospectus and arrangement of the matter in these immense volumes.

What is social England? What is the life of peoples, that history tries to set forth, to render out of the crystalized Past into the living features and glowing colors of the Present? If we would classify the records; the unceasing conflicts of war, the growing organic system of the State, fall into the political division; the development of faith, the outward forms of creed and worship are readily recognized as religious; the productive work of mankind, the tillage of the earth, and the exchange of products have created the category of economics. There is a sum of all this living, and it is coming to be called social. There is a contact and fruition of life, which is the result and expression of all these divisions and classifications. One's own life — whether of soldier or statesman, of priest or worshipper, of producer or exchanger — engraves itself on the life of one's fellows, and the resulting consequence is history, in the largest sense. Keeping this principle in mind we may, perhaps, contemplate some of the great epochs of the past in a new light of appreciation.

If we can separate the glamor of great personalities, the confusion of war and battle, the immediate effect of important institutions, from this greater stream of tendency, this development of social life, we may distinguish and define several great epochs in English history. We would not, and we could not, diminish the weight of great men, nor ignore the significance of a campaign; we would only readjust the perspective, that the development of man may stand out and appear to be of more relative importance than the doings of any men or the outgrowth of many things. In these great periods, the social life of the kingdom worked itself forward and developed according to, or in defiance of, the growth of

institutions, the shock of battle, the murder of kings. Under Henry III. there were certain great social changes, which manifest themselves clearly. The spirit of the Middle Ages is best conveyed in the one word, "feudalism." Church and State combined or moved in accord to carry the smaller landholder into that dependence upon the landlord or overlord, which we call feudalism.<sup>1</sup> This was a system of minute obligations, which ramified from the top to the bottom of society. In the time of the third Henry, the smaller barons left their castles and fortalices, and built manor houses for comfortable occupation. These latter were fortified, but they were homes for defence, instead of citadels for rapacious war. There was not much improvement in actual agriculture until two centuries later; when better rotation of crops, more liberal application of manures, and the freer use of horses gave larger returns from the land. But the basis for an organic system of farming was laid, when the armored knight became a country gentleman.

Politically, Simon of Montfort's Parliament makes its own era. Moreover, this period has been termed the era of municipalities. There were town charters, city leagues, and systematic commerce. Out of these conditions came new social power, that was concentrated in the hands of a middle class. Out of the middle class came representation, election by communes or commons; in short, the rise of a third estate.

We could not have a better illustration of the positive force of that social current that compels peoples and states in a stream of historic tendency, than we find in the career of Edward I. Why did the system of laws set forth by the great Longshanks become the solid basis of English common law for all the centuries since? We have great structures of constitutional and corporation law extending into all the complicated issues of modern civilization. But in criminal and private law, good authorities say, we date back to the fruitful thirteenth century, and to the statutes of the great Edward, having made little substantial change in the solid principles there laid down.

Something more than the prescience of genius must be discovered to account for this marvellous foresight of the true issues of civilization. Truly it was a period of great kings and statesmen in all countries. In France, Philip Augustus and St. Louis, in Spain, Alfonso the Wise, in Germany, Frederic II., in Austria, Rudolph of Hapsburgh; in all these states these great rulers lifted high the torch of light and civilization. And mark the concurrence of the factors of progress. About the time the "Dominion of the Seas" was made manifest, Edward I. established the long bow as the national weapon;<sup>2</sup> the weapon which almost changed the national arrangement of modern Europe. Weapons are destructive, but they sometimes accelerate progress, as the settler's axe destroys the forest in creating the peace and plenty of the meadow.

We pass to the time of the seventh and eighth Henrys, grouped together

<sup>1</sup> *Social England*, I. 209. A. L. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> *Social England*, I. 411, II. 45.

for necessary reasons. A brilliant king had generally a silent partner in the previous generation. As the great Frederic had a father in Frederic William — disagreeable enough, paternally, but a prodigious husband of military chests and builder of armies, — so the splendid, powerful Harry was fathered by the patient, sober, and discreet Henry VII., who loved peace better than war, lifted the system of finance, enlarged diplomacy, and forged out a practical method of absolutism. Moreover, he perceived social issues, and devised social legislation between the classes, which gives him the rank of a “just and able sovereign.”

As the fifteenth century turned into the sixteenth, a great change was impending in agriculture. The treatment of agriculture alone would be worth the publication of these volumes, if the development of law were not worth more still. Agriculture had come to a pause, waiting for transition into a different system. For some three centuries, rude tillage had been giving place to a semi-pastoral production of wool for export; sheep pasturage drove the villeins into towns and villages, or into dependence on the monasteries; sometimes into “sturdy begging” on the highways. Meanwhile the modern system of cutting up land into “several classes” was going on, and this virtually established competition with the monasteries. The process increased values of land nearly twenty-fold. The monastic system abhorred competition. The abbots were usually of noble family, living like country gentlemen, and so liberally that they were approaching bankruptcy, before bluff Harry forced them into involuntary assignment, without process of law. True, the necessary moral decadence of the monastic system made the spoiler’s task easy. But such a sweeping change in the tenure of property as was made by Henry VIII. was based on an inevitable change in economic management, or it would not have succeeded without revolution. Something more than Catholic elevation of the Host or Protestant reverence of the Book was involved here. At the same time the social development in municipal life had established great changes, according to Mrs. Green.<sup>1</sup> The social framework of England was being ossified into classes.

We have dwelt on these manifold changes, for they mark the significant periods of England. The great Elizabethan age began with Henry VII., a half century before the maiden queen was born. The powerful absolutism of the Tudors, barely tempered by parliaments, became the feeble absolutism of the Stuarts, defying parliaments and ending on the headsman’s block. But social development in England went on with hardly a pause. The pure domestic quality of Little England was developed from the reign of Edward I. to that of Henry VII. The work of the kingdom was little more than domestic; for the campaigns with the long bow ended in sorry failure, leaving hardly a ripple in the flow of Continental development. Greater England began with the Elizabethan

<sup>1</sup> “So far as evidence yet goes, the development of municipal government involved everywhere a struggle between the classes triumphant and the classes put under subjection.” — *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, II. 187.

age, or with the germs of the sixteenth century. Previous commerce had been thalassic, according to Professor Seeley's excellent definition. Edward I. established the staple, and Edward III. regulated the export of wool. He founded the security of commerce; "better than freedom," for it was the mother of freedom. The heroes of the Elizabethan age extended this petty trade, elevated its issues, and, through ocean commerce, sought the springs of prosperity throughout the world. They explored and traded; they fought, settled, and governed.

There are minor topics in this main theme which might well interest us. Mr. Traill could have made a special division embodying the treatment of the public health and the course of disease, which would have been important in itself. The modern application of science to this great social province has changed the course of history and altered the career of nations. Mr. Creighton shows, in this respect, how much better the conditions of the poor are now than the rich could command in mediæval times. These changed conditions dominate us so completely that we do not perceive the change as it appears on the surface. For example, the East Saxons were driven back from Christianity into heathenism by an overwhelming pestilence. Advancing civilization was swamped out. Or, if we would prefer the economic expression of civilizing force—a mode of reckoning better understood now—the experience of the fourteenth century is something startling. The Black Death killed off one half the laborers, and thus raised the wages and improved the condition of the other half. Nature works thoroughly; but she is an inconsiderate mother, who knows no remorse.

Economic terms and the consequences of economic valuation have deeply impressed themselves on the life of our time. They are significant in marking the change and the social development of the individual man and woman through the wage and the easy transfer of property and wealth; a change wrought out by some six centuries of individual evolution. For example, the great mass of the agricultural population are now landless, and have been since the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The relation between peasant and landlord is now economic,<sup>1</sup> and the peasant holds his social and political relations in his own hand. In the olden time, the peasant was a small landholder, while his social and political privilege—so far as he had any—was included in the rights and opportunities of the gentry. It is not the purpose here to argue concerning this change, but to note the significance of the fact. However, the main interest is in the main theme. The history of a complex nation like the British, of a manifold country like Great Britain,—with its connections, racial and political,—is a history of social development. War and peace, discovery and conquest, revolution and constitutional expression, diplomacy and finance,—all promote the larger life of the people, and enlarge the relation of fellow to fellow.

In this spirit we welcome this book, in spite of blemish and imperfec-

<sup>1</sup> *Social England*, I. 357. A. L. Smith.



tion, of occasional conflict or contradiction among the writers. As above mentioned, the critics have seemed ungenial in their judgments. It is not of so much consequence that the style of Dr. Heath is somewhat exuberant. His good matter adds to our knowledge. All the writers are not equal to Mr. Maitland in his excellent exposition of law, but all contribute something. Likewise, we may never prove exactly whether Celt or Roman chiefly made the England of the fifth century; or just how far Celt and Teuton mingled in the life that followed. It is of greater import to discern and comprehend that larger English life-spirit — greater than race and issuing in new functions of government — that has made Great Britain what it is.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

*Ein Ministerium unter Philipp II.; Kardinal Granvella am spanischen Hofe (1579-1586).* Von MARTIN PHILIPPSON. (Berlin: Verlag Siegfried Cronbach. 1895. Pp. vii, 642.)

THE story of the sixteenth century will remain incomplete until we possess a history of Philip the Second which shall show him as the central figure in the great political and religious movement of his time. Martin Philippson gives us, in his admirable *Westeuropa im Zeitalter von Philipp II., Elisabeth und Heinrich IV.*, the nearest approach to such a picture. The same author's new book, on *Granvella at the Court of Spain*, forms a most valuable supplement to his previous researches. In preparing this work, Herr Philippson, not content with using the mass of original documents bearing upon his subject which have already been printed, has consulted manuscript sources in Rome, Naples, Simancas, London, Paris, and Brussels. This in itself indicates the universal nature of his theme. He deals with great questions and has thrown a flood of light upon one of the most momentous crises in the history of the world.

The author undertakes to write the history of Philip the Second during Granvella's ministry. In describing the conquest of Portugal, the alliance between Philip and the Guises, the victory of the Counter-reformation in northwestern Germany, and the conspiracy of Mary Stuart and Catholic Europe against England, the book, though covering so short a period, illustrates admirably the great meaning of the whole reign in history.

The purely biographical element is reduced to the lowest possible limit. After a few pages devoted to the career of Granvella before he was called to the head of affairs comes a capital description of the Spain of Philip the Second. Here, and scattered through the whole book, the author gives a great deal of information regarding the wretched state of the economic administration, one of the most potent factors in the sudden, and at first sight inexplicable, decadence of Spain. The description of the king's personality and methods of government is careful and instructive, but fails sufficiently to impress upon the reader